1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

how many ſables or other beaſts their party has killed, and if any of their parties have done any thing contrary to his orders and the common laws. Theſe crimes they puniſh differently: ſome they tie to a ſtake, others they oblige to aſk pardon of every one of the company; a thief they beat ſeverely, and allow him no ſhare of the booty; nay, they even take his own baggage from him, and divide it among themſelves. They remain in their head-quarters until the rivers are free of ice; and after the hunting they employ their time in preparing the ſkins. As ſoon as the ice is all gone off the rivers, they ſet out, in thoſe little boats which they came in, on their return home, where they give the ſables to the ſeveral churches to which they promiſed them; and then, having paid their tax-furrs, they ſell the reſt, dividing equally the money, or goods, which they receive for them.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the SEA BEASTS.

UNDER the name of ſea beaſts are here underſtood ſuch animals as are called amphibious, which, although they live for the moſt part in the water, frequently come upon the dry land, and upon, or near it, bring forth their young. Water beaſts may be divided into three claſſes: 1ſt, Thoſe which live in freſh water lakes, and rivers, as the otter. 2d, Thoſe which live in freſh or ſalt water, ſuch as ſeals. 3d, Thoſe which are never found in freſh water, ſuch as ſea beavers, ſea cats, and others.

Although otters be very common in *Kamtſchatka*, yet the price is not low; a very indifferent ſkin will coſt a ruble. They

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

225 commonly hunt them with dogs when the ſnow comes in drifts,
237 and they wander at too great a diſtance from the river. They uſe their ſkins to make borders round their garments, but principally to preſerve the ſable-ſkins, which are obſerved to be preſerved better, when wrapt in otter-ſkins than any other way.

136 It is incredible to think what a number of ſeals there are in the ſeas and lakes of that country, eſpecially when the fiſh come up the rivers, which they follow in droves, not only to the mouth, but even far up the ſtream. So numerous are they that all the iſlands or ſand-banks are quite covered with them, inſomuch that ſmall boats are in great danger near theſe places. When the ſeals obſerve any boat approaching they throw themſelves in great numbers into the water, which makes ſuch a motion in it as will overſet the canoes or ſmall boats, if they go at once into it. No animal has a more diſagreeable cry, and their noiſe is inceſſant.

There are reckoned to be four ſorts of this animal; the very largeſt of which is catched from 56° to 64° of north latitude. This ſort only differs from the others in its bulk, which exceeds that of a large ox. The ſecond ſpecies is about the ſize of a yearling bullock. Their ſkin is of different colours, ſomething like the ſkin of a tyger; having ſeveral ſpots of equal largeneſs on the back, with a white and yellowiſh belly. Their young ones are as white as ſnow. The third is yet leſs than the former. Its ſkin is yellowiſh, with large cherry-coloured circles, which take up near the half of its ſurface. The fourth kind is ſeen in the large lakes of *Baikaal* and *Oronne*. Its ſize is like thoſe that are found near *Archangel*; and their colour is whitiſh.

They are very vivacious: I ſaw one, that was taken by a hook in the mouth of the Great River, throw itſelf upon people with great fierceneſs, even after its ſkull was broken into pieces. I obſerved that he was no ſooner brought on ſhore than

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

than he began to try to run again into the river; and when he found that this was impoſſible, he began to weep; and when they beat and bruiſed him, it only made him more fierce and wild. 136

The ſeals never go farther from the ſhore than 30 leagues; and are moſt commonly to be found near the mouths of great rivers or bays: they will follow the fiſh 80 verſts up a river. They bring forth only one young one, which they nouriſh with two breaſts. The *Tunguſi* give the ſeals' milk to their children for a medicine. The old ſeals cry like one that ſtrains in vomiting, and the young like people groaning through pain. When the tide goes out they lie upon the dry rocks, and in play puſh one another into the water; but when they begin to be angry they bite one another very cruelly. They ſleep very ſound: but, being awakened by the approach of any one, they are in very great fear; and haſtening towards the ſea, to make the way ſmoother, as is ſuppoſed, they vomit out water.

There are different ways of killing them: In the rivers they ſhoot them with ſcrewed-barrelled guns; but they muſt be careful to hit the head, becauſe a hundred bullets will not do them the leaſt hurt in any other place, as they all lodge in the fat that covers their body. They ſearch for them upon ſhore, and ſurpriſing them in their ſleep kill them with clubs: or when they ſleep, laying their ſnout upon the ice, they drive a knife quite through the ſnout, which being faſtened to a long thong they drag the animal out. 225

The ſeals are not ſo dear as one would imagine the many uſes they put them to ſhould render them; for, beſides the uſe of their fat and fleſh, the ſkins of the larger ſort ſerve for ſoles of ſhoes. The *Koreki*, *Olutores*, and the *Tchukotſkoi*, alſo make boats or baidares with them of different ſizes, ſome even ſo large that they will carry thirty men. Theſe boats have this advantage over thoſe 237

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

Although in appearance and ſize this animal ſeems to be very dangerous, and marches with ſuch a fierce mien that he looks like a true lion, yet is he ſuch a coward, that at the ſight of a man he hurries into the water; and when he is ſurpriſed aſleep, and awakened either by a loud cry or blows with a club, he is in ſuch fear and confuſion, that in running away he falls down, all his joints quaking with terror; but, when he finds no poſſibility of eſcaping, he will then attack his enemy with the greateſt fierceneſs, ſhaking his head and roaring very terribly; and then the boldeſt muſt ſeek to ſave himſelf from his rage. For this reaſon the *Kamtſchadales* ſeldom kill the ſea lions at ſea, unleſs when they can ſurpriſe them ſleeping there, but generally upon land; and when they find them aſleep on ſhore they approach them with great caution, going againſt the wind. But none dare undertake this game, but ſuch as can truſt to their ſtrength or their heels. Stealing upon them, they ſtrike a knife into their breaſt under their fore paw; the aſſiſtants in the mean time tying a cord made of ſea calf's ſkin, which is faſtened to the knife, about a ſtake. Then every one runs off as faſt as he can, and endeavours at a diſtance to wound him with arrows, or knives, which they dart at him; and at laſt, when his ſtrength is quite waſted, they diſpatch him with clubs.

When they find them aſleep at ſea, they ſhoot poiſoned arrows at them, and get off as faſt as poſſible. The wounded animal, unable to ſuffer the pain ariſing from the ſalt water in the poiſoned wound, runs himſelf aſhore, where they kill him outright with darts or arrows; or if the place is not ſafe for ſuch an attack, they wait until he dies of his firſt wound, which follows in 24 hours. This game is ſo honourable among the natives, that the man who has killed moſt of theſe beaſts is eſteemed the greateſt hero: for this reaſon many engage in this dangerous hunting, not only for the fleſh, which is looked upon as very delicate, but rather for the honour that attends it. Two or

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

225 three ſea lions are a great load for their boats; and, as it is
302 eſteemed diſhonourable to leave any game which they have caught, they ſometimes ſo overload their boats, that, though they are very expert in the management of them, they and their game go to the bottom together. In theſe veſſels they go to the deſert iſland *Alaide*, which lies out at ſea about thirty miles, and are ſometimes carried four, five, and even eight days without ſeeing any land, expoſed to the cold of theſe climates; and without any compaſs, they return to their habitations by obſerving the ſun or moon.

237 Of the ſkins of the ſea lion they make cords, ſhoe-ſoles, and
136 ſhoes. The female has two, three, and ſometimes four young ones. They couple in the months of *Auguſt* or *September*; and are pregnant about ten months, as they generally bring forth their young about the beginning of *July*. The male treats the female with great tenderneſs, not like the ſea cat, but by fondneſs endeavours to gain her affection. Both male and female ſeem to take very little care of their young, frequently ſtifling them under their paws as they ſuck; nor do they ſhew
136 any concern at ſeeing them killed before their eyes. The young are not lively nor full of play, like moſt other young animals; but are almoſt continually aſleep. Towards the evening the male and female ſwim out to ſea with their brood, but not far from the ſhore. The young climb upon the mother's back, and reſt themſelves; the male in the mean time playing about toſſes the lazy puppies into the water, to oblige them to learn to ſwim. Some of them have been thrown into the ſea, but inſtead of ſwimming away they haſten again to land. They are twice as large as the young of the ſea cat. Although theſe animals naturally run from a man, yet it has been obſerved that they are not always ſo wild; particularly when their young have ſcarcely learned to ſwim. Mr. *Steller* lived ſix days in a high place amongſt whole herds of them, and out of his hut ſaw

ſeveral

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

The manner of catching them in *Bering*'s iſland was this: They firſt ſtruck out their eyes with ſtones, and then killed them by beating out their brains with clubs: but this was a work of ſo much labour, that three men were hardly able to kill one with 300 ſtrokes; and though ſometimes the ſkull was broken in pieces, and the brains came out, and all their teeth beaten out, yet they would keep their place, ſtanding upon their hinder paws, endeavouring to defend themſelves. One of them thus miſerably treated was left to ſee how long it would live, which it did full two weeks without quitting its place. They ſeldom come aſhore about *Kamtſchatka*; ſo that the inhabitants chace them in boats, and throw darts or harpoons at them, which ſtick in their body; to this harpoon is fixed one end of a rope, and the other is in the veſſel; and by this rope they draw them towards the boat; but here they are to be particularly cautious whenever they chace one, if he comes near, not to ſuffer him to faſten upon the ſide of the boat with his fore paws, and overturn it; to prevent which ſome of the fiſhermen ſtand ready with axes to cut off his paws. Several of theſe animals die of old age, but the greateſt part of the wounds they receive in the quarrels that happen among them; of which there are ſometimes ſo many, that the ſhore is covered with bones.

The ſea beavers * have not the leaſt reſemblance of the other beavers; but the people formerly gave them that name from their downy hair, which reſembles that of the beaver. They are as large as the ſea cats; their ſhape reſembles the ſeal, and their head the bear; their fore feet are longer than their hind feet; their teeth ſmall; their tail ſhort and flat, and ſharp towards the point; their hair is thick and black as pitch,

1. [the sea cats]

* Lutra marina.

but

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

but in the old ones it turns grey. The young ones have their hair long, browniſh, and very ſoft. This is the moſt peaceable of all the ſea animals; it never makes any reſiſtance, but endeavours to ſave itſelf by flight. The females are very affectionate to their young, and carry ſuch as cannot ſwim upon their belly between their fore feet; for until the little ones can ſwim themſelves the mother ſwims upon her back. When the fiſhermen purſue them, they never quit their young' till the very laſt extremity; and if they ſhould happen to ſlip them they preſently return to where they hear them cry; ſo that the fiſhers endeavour to kill or catch the young, as the moſt effectual method of taking their dams. They have three different ways of catching them: 1ſt. By nets placed among the ſea cabbage*, whither the beavers retire in the night time, or in ſtorms. 2dly, They chace them in their boats, when the weather is calm, and kill them in the ſame manner they do ſea lions or ſea cats. The third method is upon the ice, which in the ſpring is driven on the coaſt by the eaſt wind; and this laſt is ſo general, that when the ice is driven ſo ſtrongly upon the ſhore that the people can paſs upon it with ſnow ſhoes, they conſider it as an acquiſition of great treaſure, and all the inhabitants upon the coaſt hunt and kill vaſt numbers, as they ſtalk along the ice ſeeking an opening to get into the water. However, ſuch a drift of ice upon the coaſt does not happen every year, but when it does, they call it a good year; for the natives, Coſſacks, and merchants, find a great advantage from this trade. The *Kuriles* did not eſteem the ſkins of beavers more than thoſe of ſeals or ſea lions before they ſaw the value that the *Ruſſians* put upon them; and even now they will willingly exchange a dreſs made of beavers'

* Fucus marinus.

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

136 When they have eaten their fill, they lie aſleep upon their backs. As ſoon as the ebb begins they retire to the ſea, fearing to be left upon the ſhore. In the winter time they are frequently cruſhed by the ice againſt the rocks, and thrown out upon the beach. This happens during a ſtorm, when the wind is upon the ſhore. At this ſeaſon they are ſo lean that one may count all their ribs and vertebræ. They are caught with great iron hooks, 225 136 ſomething like the fluke of a ſmall anchor. This hook is carried by a ſtrong man in a boat with three or four rowers, who when he comes among the herd ſtrikes into one of them. Thirty men that are left upon the ſhore, and hold one end of a rope which is faſtened to the hook, draw the manati towards the land; and in the mean time thoſe that are in the boat ſtab and cut it 'till it dies. I once ſaw ſome of the fiſhers cut off the fleſh from the creature, while it was alive, who all the while ſtruck the water with its paws with ſuch force that the ſkin was torn off them; but at laſt it expired. It is eaſier to catch the old ones than the young: for the laſt are more active, and the ſkin being ſofter the hook frequently looſes its hold. When one of them is ſtruck, and ſtruggles to clear himſelf of the hook, thoſe of the herd that are neareſt to him come to his aſſiſtance: ſome overturn the boat by getting under it; others lay themſelves upon the rope, as if they could break it; and others endeavour to ſtrike out the hook with their tails, which ſometimes 136 ſucceeds. The love that is between the male and female is extraordinary; for after the male has uſed all methods to aſſiſt and reſcue the female, he follows her even dead to the very ſhore, and has been obſerved ſometimes even after two or three days to remain by the dead body. This animal cannot be ſaid to low, but rather brays hard, which is particularly obſervable when it is wounded. It cannot be ſaid how ſharp

their

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

136 The whales here are from ſeven to fifteen fathoms long. We can give no account of the different ſpecies of whales at *Kamtſchatka*, few of them being caught here except in the northern parts by the *Koreki* and *Tchukotſkoi*, who feed upon their fleſh. In the year 1740 a whale was brought by the flood into the mouth of the *Bolſkoi* river; but ſome Coſſacks obſerving it, went out in boats, and cut it all to pieces; ſo that next day when I came, to my great diſappointment, I neither found fleſh nor bones; for theſe people, who had cut off the fleſh, being afraid of puniſhment for doing it without permiſſion, had buried the bones to conceal their crime. *Steller* obſerved that more whales were thrown on the eaſtern than on the weſtern ſhore, and more in the harveſt than in the ſpring.

225 171 The different people have different ways of catching them: the *Kuriles* by throwing their poiſoned darts into them: the *Olutores* catch them in nets, made of thongs of the ſea horſe ſkin as broad as a man's hand, which they dry in the ſmoke. Theſe they ſet in the mouths of the rivers, and the whale purſuing other fiſh entangles himſelf in them. With theſe thongs he is dragged to the ſhore by the h[illegible]r of numbers who aſſemble on theſe occaſions, and always p[illegible]rform certain ceremonies. They bring out of their common huts a wooden whale about two feet long; then building a new hut they place this image in it, uſing ſeveral conjurations. After this they light a lamp, and appointing ſome people to look after it, give orders that it be not allowed to go out from ſpring to harveſt, which is as long as the fiſhing ſeaſon laſts. They then cut the whale into different portions, which, looking upon it as their moſt delicate proviſion, they prepare in the following manner:—They dry the lean in the ſun; and the ſkin, which they ſeparate from the fat, they beat with hammers, and of it make ſoles to their ſhoes, which wears extremely well. They ſmoke the fat parts, and

l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

and cleaning the guts, they fill them with the oil which runs in cutting the fiſh, or which they melt from the blubber, having no other veſſels to keep it in.

The *Tchukotſkoi* kill whales with a harpoon in the ſame manner as the *Europeans* do, and they catch ſo many that they never eat thoſe whales that are thrown dead on ſhore, as ſome of the neighbouring people do, but only extract their fat for burning. Although the *Tchukotſkoi* have large herds of deer, which might be ſufficient for their ſuſtenance, yet they are the greateſt whale fiſhers of any people in this part of the globe, and look upon the fat of the whales as the greateſt delicacy; beſides, having great ſcarcity of wood, they uſe it for burning. They make themſelves ſhirts of the inteſtines of the whales, like the *Americans*; and uſe them for veſſels, like the *Olutores*.

The kaſatki, (falſely called the ſword-fiſh) which are numerous in theſe ſeas, are very uſeful to the inhabitants, for theſe fiſh frequently either kill or drive the whales on ſhore. *Steller* had an opportunity of ſeeing an engagement between the kaſatki and whale, both at ſea and upon *Bering*'s iſland. When the kaſatki attacks the whale he makes him roar ſo that he may be heard ſome miles. If the whale makes off, the kaſatki follows him at ſome diſtance 'till great numbers of them gather together, and make a general attack. It is never obſerved that ſuch whales as are thrown on ſhore have any part eaten out of their bodies; ſo that this war between the whales and the kaſatki muſt proceed only from a natural enmity. The fiſhers are ſo much afraid of theſe animals that they not only never throw any darts at them, but if poſſible avoid going near them; nay, they even make offerings to them, begging that they will not hurt them: for if irritated they ſometimes overturn their boats.

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

225 Mr. *Steller* writes that he was certainly informed, that in the bodies of whales thrown upon the coaſt of *Kamtſchatka*, there have been found harpoons marked with *Latin* letters; but by what means he could be certain of this, I know not; for the natives have no idea of letters; and before our arrival, none of our Coſſacks ever ſaw a *Latin* letter.

237 262 Many are the advantages which the *Kamtſchadales* derive from this plenty of whales: of the ſkin they make ſhoe ſoles and ſtraps; they eat the fleſh, as likewiſe the fat which they alſo burn; they ſew their boats with the beard, of which alſo they make nets for foxes and fiſh; out of the lower jaw they form a ſort of ſledge, and make knife-handles, rings, and ſeveral ſmall things of it beſides; the inteſtines ſerve for barrels, and other veſſels; out of the nerves and blood-veſſels they make ropes; and of the vertebræ, ſeats. The moſt delicate pieces of the whale are the tongue and fins. I thought that the whale's fat with grout was not unpleaſant, but I can't ſay, that I was then a proper judge, for hunger makes every thing agreeable.

226 136 825 They never go a fiſhing for the kaſatki, but if this fiſh is thrown on ſhore they uſe its fat like that of the whale. Mr. *Steller* ſays, that, in the year 1742, eight of them were thrown on ſhore at once, near the *Lopatka*; but the diſtance and the bad weather prevented his going to examine them. He was told, that the largeſt never exceed four fathoms in length; that they have ſmall eyes, a wide mouth, and great ſharp teeth, with which they wound the whale; but that they tear up the belly of the whale with a ſharp fin which is upon their backs, is a falſe report; for though this fin is about five feet long, very ſharp, and in the ſea ſtands quite upright, yet it is altogether ſoft, and conſiſts only of fat: nay the animal itſelf is almoſt all fat having hardly any muſcular fleſh.

There

5: Jochelson A-5 (1910-11) 1928 Kamchadal

hunting the wild Kamchatka variety of reindeer. Fish, different species of salmon, ascend the Kamchatka rivers in such abundance that they amply satisfy the needs in food. The Kamchadal have no time during the short fishing season to dry or smoke all the fish for the winter and the greater part of it is put in holes covered with stones and earth, and during the winter it is consumed in a decayed state by dogs as well as by men.

To a certain degree the Kamchadal of the western coast hunt sea mammals, but, not having skin boats, they do not go out to the sea, but kill those seals, white whales (*Delphinopterus leucas*) and sea lions (seldom) which enter the mouths of rivers in order to catch the ascending fish. Thong nets are put up for that purpose. They also kill seals, spearing and shooting them at their rookeries.

Horned cattle and horses were imported into Kamchatka chiefly from the Okhotsk district, i. e., of the Yakut race. In spite of the fact that they are badly cared for, they became acclimatized in Kamchatka and are a strong race of domestic animals. The Kamchatka horses are small, short necked, wide breasted and with short legs. During the winter they become covered with long thick hair, particularly their legs. Horses are used only in summer—as riding and pack animals. During the winter they are set free and have to graze from under the snow; rarely are they given hay and they therefore turn wild and have to be captured in the summer and trained again for riding.

Cow's milk plays at present an important rôle in the food of the Kamchadal and Russian inhabitants of the country. They use sweet as well as sour milk and pot cheese. Butter is rarely made, although the milk is rich in fat. But the Kamchatka cows give a small quantity of milk, about two or three quarts a day, as a result of scanty feeding in winter and of being kept in cold stalls. The Kamchadal make little hay, as the season for fishing and hay making coincide. One cow may be reckoned for every three inhabitants. The number of cattle may be estimated, according to the writer's census, at about 2,000.

Prior to the advent of the Russian the only domestic animal of the Kamchadal was the driving dog. The Kamchadal dog was regarded as the best and biggest driving dog of Siberia; at present, as a result of unfavorable conditions of life, it has become small in size. The dogs work hard during the long winter, but during the entire summer they are tied up, otherwise calves and colts and sometimes cows and horses are in danger of being torn by them. They are kept far from the village and poorly fed. Owing to the economic, climatic and topographic conditions of the country, the Kamchadal can not dispense with the driving dog, and every family has from eight to fifteen dogs. The number of dogs in 1911 in Kamchatka, according to my census, was more than 5,000. The old Kamchadal sledge for riding astride is no longer in use, the Russians having introduced the type of sledge used all over eastern Siberia. The dogs are harnessed to the sledge, being tied in pairs to a long thong.

There are no domesticated small animals, as goats or sheep and birds, in Kamchatka, as they would be exterminated by the ever hungry dogs, which very often find means to free themselves.

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

north to the Nalachevaya River in the south. The second included Itel'mens living from the Nalachevaya River to Cape Lopatka, as well as the "Near Kurilers." The third group consisted of the Itel'mens of the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Sedanka-Khayryuzovo). The greatest differences were between the languages of the northern and southern groups. Of the dialects of the Itel'men language, only two have survived to our time—the Khayruyuzovo and the Sedanka, which were strongly affected by Koryak and Russian.

The question of the origin of the Itel'mens remains open. The archeological remains on the peninsula have not been studied sufficiently. They are represented by semiunderground dwellings, which hold large quantities of neolithic stone implements: arrowheads, spears, hatchets, scrapers, blubber lamps, well-made bone objects and fragments of pottery. These are very close to the Itel'men implements of the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar stone and bone objects were found by the first explorers of Kamchatka—S. Krasheninnikov (1737–1742) and G. Steller (1740–44).

The first ethnographic data about the Itel'mens were provided by V. Atlasov, who made a journey to Kamchatka from the Anadyr' Fort in 1697, with a detachment of Cossacks and Yukagirs. Atlasov followed the western coast, almost to the southern tip of the peninsula, and collected the first fur-tax from the Itel'mens. He found the Itel'mens at the height of the neolithic technique in making stone and bone implements. His "tales" (reports) abound in ethnographic materials. They provide fairly detailed descriptions of the material culture (villages, dwellings, clothing, methods of preparing food, etc.), the geographic distribution, and individual features of clan organization. Especially interesting are Atlasov's data on pottery-making, for only 40 years later, S. Krasheninnikov found no traces of this occupation among the Itel'mens.

Economy, Daily Life and Social Relations

Thanks to the remarkable work of Stepan Krasheninnikov, a participant in Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition, we have a detailed account of the material production and social order of the Itel'mens in the first half of the 18th century, when they still retained their original culture.

They were fishermen who lived in permanent settlements along rivers. Their largest concentration was in the basin of the Kamchatka River. The main fishing season was during the salmon-run, when the fish surged upstream in dense masses to spawn. They fished with nets and hooks.

Nets were woven of nettle fiber. Fish was cured, made into yukola, and pickled in pits. Fish-heads were always pickled; this was a favorite dish.

The second important occupation of the Itel'mens was hunting. Kamchatka at that time was very rich in meat and fur animals. But fur animals were also hunted primarily for meat, since there was no market for the furs. V. Atlasov reported that the Itel'mens mixed chopped sable tails with the clay when making clay utensils.

An important role in the Itel'men economy was played by sea hunting. They hunted seal, fur-seal, and sea-beaver. The southern Itel'mens also hunted whales with arrows poisoned with plant poison.

None of the northern Siberian peoples engaged as widely as the Itel'mens in gathering wild plants. Most important in their diet were the tubers of sarana (a local name for various members of the lily family), sweet grass stems, the leaves of arnica, various berries, cedar nuts, etc. Plant tubers were dug out with a special digging implement of deer horn, tied to a wooden

17: Heizer--419 E-3 (no date) 1943 Kamchadal
116, 171, 225

" Whaling is of general occurrence on the east Asiatic littoral from East Cape at Bering Strait at least as far south as Japan. It is commonly considered a general feature of Eskimo culture, though some groups, by reason of continental cultural orientation or environmental restrictions, do not indulge in it....

On the Pacific littoral of northeast Asia there is a small, restricted area where whaling was accomplished by the relatively simple procedure of throwing a lance into the whale, the stone point of which was detachable and smeared with deadly aconite poison. The area is that of the Kurile Islands and the Kamchatkan coast. The Koryak to the north and Japanese to the south employed different methods."

17: Heizer--421 E-3 (no date)1943 Kamchadal-1-4
116, 225, 278

"Steller [CMC: G.W. Steller. Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka. Frankfurt and Leipzig] (1774, pp. 98, 103, ftn. (a)) has left the best description of Kamchadal whaling: (2)

2. The accounts of Asiatic whaling by Tooke[CMC: W. Tooke, View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of Catherine the Second and to the Close of the Eighteenth Century, 3 vols. Dublin] (1801, vol. 3, pp.18-20) and Krashenninikov[CMC: S. P. Krashenninikov. The History of Kamtschatka and the Kurilski Islands, with the countries adjacent, James Grieve. Gloucester](1764, pp. 138-139) are similar to Steller's fuller description, which I offer here in translation from the German edition.

Whales are also taken in the neighborhood of Kamtschatka in the number of ways which I shall cite here, however inconceivable such seem and are astonishing in view of(the size of) these great sea animals. Around Lapatka (3) and the

3. Cape Lopatka, the southernmost tip of the Kamchatka Peninsula.

Kurile Islands the inhabitants travel into the sea in baidars, (4) seek places at

4. This word ordinarily refers to skin-covered boats; here it means wooden boats with dugout hulls and built-up side planks (cf. Torii, [CMC: R. Torii. Les Ainous des Iles Kouriles. Journ. Coll. Sci. Tokyo Imperial University, vol. 42] 1919, pp. 178-183).

which these are accustomed to sleep; as many animals as they meet, so many do they shoot with poisoned arrows, whereby they suddenly puff out (become animated?) storm and rage frightfully and go (down) into (sound) the sea, and it happens now and then, that one or more, at times even none of them, are cast upon the shore. When the Kuriles obrain a whale, (5) no one begins to cut it up until all are

5. Presumably this refers to the moment when the whale, previously attacked, has come ashore as already described by Steller.

assembled; first shamanizing takes place, each one puts on his best clothes, and carries home his portion, after this one yurt entertains the other. Before and after the entertainment they give their dance, and otherwise delight themselves in all sorts

of ways, which will be treated in what follows.

As soon as a whale comes to the land in Kamchatka, they fasten it with a thin line to a little stick stuck in the sand, and believe certainly on this account, that neither the spirits nor the sea nor Gamuti, or spirits of the land, can any longer have any claim to it.

Further descriptions of the Kamchadal whale fishery are passing references, (6) or

6. Steller, 1774, pp. 100, 103, ftn (a); Krashenninikov, 1764, p. 141. Von Langsdorff [CMC: G.H. von Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels in Various parts of the World, during the years 1803...1807, London] (1813, p. 262) and Petroff [CMC: Ivan Petroff. Report on the Population, Industries and Resources of Alaska. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census](1884, p. 146) deny Kamchadal whaling. By Von Langsdorff's time the practice may have been forgotten.

are seemingly traceable to Steller's original account.

Whaling in the Kurile Islands between Yezo and the Kamchatka peninsula is recorded, but not described adequately. Krashenninikov says (1764, p. 138; see also Steller,

1774, p. 98) the 'Kuriles (kill whales) by throwing poison darts into them.' The same author (7) notes that the southern Kurilians (i.e., Ainu) feed on whale'fat. Shelekhoff

7. Krashenninikov, 1764, p. 39. La Pérouse, [CMC: J.F.G. de La Pérouse. A Voyage round the World, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788 by the Boussole and Astrolabe, 2 vols. London] 1799, pp. 59-60, 75. Drift whales cast ashore on Etorup are mentioned in Neue Beschreibung, [CMC: Neue Beschreibing der Kurilischen Inseln, in P.S. Pallas, Neue Nordische Beytrage, vol. II, St. Petersburg and Leipzig] 1782 p. 134.

[CMC: G. Shelekhoff. Voyages of G. Shelekhoff, from the Year 1783 to 1790, St. Petersburg. MS translation by Ivan Petroff in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley](1812, vol. 1, p. 128) states that the Japenese receive whale oil from the Matmai Kuriltze. (8)

8. The Kurile Islands, except the two northernmost opposite Cape Lopatka, were occupied by Ainu. These two northern islands, Paramushir and Shumshiri, were inhabited by Kamchadal. There are a few slight indications that others of the Kurile Islands may have been occupied by Kanchadal, or, at any rate, strongly culturally influenced from Kamchatka."

17: Heizer--445 E-3 (no date) 1943 Kamchadal-1-2
116, 225, 278

"Steller (1774, pp. 235-236, ftn.a) says of the southern Kamchadal, [CMC: The following quote from Steller given in German in the text: 'Nonetheless such were very much feared because they (i.e. the Kamchadal) poisoned them by gluing on powder from the root of the Napelli (Aconitum napellus?) which in Russian is called Ludik.]Shelekhoff (75) says, ' Paramushir Island has a plant called Liutik, with the roots of which the na-

75. Shelekhoff, 1812, vol1, p. 90. Neue Beschreibung...1782, p. 118. Paramushir was occupied by Kamchadal. In fact, at least the two northernmost islands of the Kurile chain (Paramushir and Sumshiri), and perhaps still others, were not held by Ainu, but by Kamchadal. This implies Ainu-Kamchadal contacts and probable cultural interchange. We know, for example, they both hunted whales in the same manner.

tives paint themselves and into its juice they dip the points of their arrows, to kill animals.'Krashenninikov's statement (1764, p. 42) about 'poisonous herbs, whose roots are as yellow as saffron and as thick as rhubarb, and are well known to the inhabitants of the first Kurilskoy island...' may refer to the same plant. Lewin(76)identified the

76. Lewin, [CMC: L. Lewin. Die Pfeilgifte. Leipzig.] 1923, pp. 174-175.

'zgate' spoken of by Krashenninikov (77) as Anemone ranunculoides. Thus, there seems

77. Krashenninikov, 1764, pp. 92-93.

to be not a single clear reference to aconite poison from Kamchatka, but of Anemone. There can be little doubt but that this poison extracted from roots is related to the high development in the area to the south and southeast."